1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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584 the garden, and hiding himself in the bush nearby, will break a dry twig in his fingers, so as to make just enough noise to attract her private attention. The word *kigi* would seem to apply specifically to this trick. Another way is to make the noise between lips and teeth which by ourselves is commonly associated with kissing, but which bears no such implication to the Orokaiva girl at work in the garden, as she is ignorant of this kind of blandishment. Again, in a man's *hetava* I have seen an article called *bohiva* which resembles a seed-pod but which is really a receptacle made by an insect for holding and hatching its eggs. It is dry and empty, and when pressed makes a clicking noise like a ping-pong ball. It is used expressly for *kigi*, and a little girl of eight or nine was covered with the prettiest confusion when the *bohiva* was pressed before her.

Sometimes, as we shall see, a youth and girl elope, and in that event we may assume that their previous meetings and love-makings are mostly in secret. But when there is no likely objection to the marriage, he will visit her from time to time by night in her father's house. He knows exactly where to find her, and as the matter has been pre-arranged he is not likely to meet with a rebuff. There is no [836] actual prohibition against sexual intercourse before marriage, but it is nevertheless regarded as the proper thing for the young couple to abstain. It may seem unlikely that they do abstain, but nevertheless it has been so frequently and consistently asserted that the boy and his sweetheart sleep 'for nothing' that one must believe that the statement is at least partly true. It is quite unlikely that young men, when they realize that their questioner has nothing censorious in his attitude, should endeavour to conceal from him what they know is a matter of indifference. I am therefore convinced that there is some truth in the constant assertion of my informants that a great deal of the love-making, even the 'sleeping together', is, as we should call it, innocent.

It has been rather shrewdly suggested to me that when a youth has been courting a girl for some time, he will seduce her in order to nail her affections the more securely, and will subsequently marry her. Illegitimate children are

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831 monial licence that follows an initiation ceremony (p. 192). The question of how far this rule of chastity is regarded or disregarded in practice does not concern us for the moment; the fact of interest is that adultery is considered an offence; so that those, particularly women, who are known to commit the offence habitually are generally despised and compared to dogs. There is, of course, no such restriction
836 upon the unmarried, though it has been observed elsewhere that young people do not give their passions an entirely free rein. As for continence in itself, I cannot find that it is
831 ever regarded as virtuous in any degree, unless it be enjoined by some ceremonial necessity.

Summary of Intra-Group Morality

511 183 The foregoing does not claim to be more than a fragmentary list of native virtues. However, it covers enough ground to allow us to see the general trend of Orokaiva ethics. The group, as we have seen, lives within itself a peaceful and contented life. It cherishes no distant and ambitious ideal of progress, but contents itself with two main requirements—(1) material plenty, and (2) internal concord. The individual must fit himself into this scheme, for the virtues enumerated above are essentially social. There is little, if any, idea of a self-centred righteousness. On the contrary, each virtue implies agent and reagent. Not incontinence, for instance, but adultery is condemned, because a right of possession has been infringed; not gluttony, but greed, because others must suffer by it. In fact the norms of individual conduct have been evolved to meet the needs of society, to satisfy its ideal of a somewhat passive well-being. The moral factors in this ideal are, on the positive side, Liberality, Industry, and Helpfulness; on the negative, Good Temper, Dignity, Courtesy, Practical Honesty, and Married Chastity. They might be summed up in two terms, if we allow them their widest meaning, viz. (1) co-operation and (2) self-restraint, which are the two main moral requirements that correspond with the two main social requirements of material plenty and internal concord.